UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor, 1880-1918)

John Haynes Holmes, *Editor in Chief*

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Francis Neilson Louis L. Mann Curtis W. Reese

The Law of the World

By CHARLES F. DOLE

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

Part III, Chapter I. By M. K. GANDHI

What China Wants

By THOMAS MING-HENG CHAO

VOLUME XCIX NUMBER 6

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCIX MONDAY, APRIL 11, 1927 NUMBER 6

AN EASTER HYMN

The dawn of life surrounds us
In each returning spring,
With grasses, trees and flowers
To beauty burgeoning.
In every sunny meadow,
On every wooded slope,
We see a new-born witness
To our undying hope.

A hope of life eternal
Fills every human breast;
Some vision that fair city
Jerusalem the Blest;
Some long for resurrection
In all the body's might;
Some with a faith prophetic
Yearn for the New Day's light.

Whatever hope we cherish
This field of life we own.
The harvest that we gather
Will show what we have sown.
The seeds of love and justice,
Will yield untold increase,
And fill our waiting storehouse
With grain that shall bring peace.

O thou Eternal Father,
Creator-spirit, Friend,
The dawn of life surrounds us,
But thou hast veiled its end.
With faith in thy vast wisdom
We rest our hopes in thee,
And leave to thy fulfilling
Our immortality.

MARGUERITE EMILIO.

It is not difficult to find the danger spots in the world today as viewed from the standpoint of war and peace. In Europe we note Italy, where Mussolini is likely to break loose at any time; Russia, which is dangerous not so much in herself as in the isolation forced upon her by the hostile nations of the west which seem now deliberately minded to provoke her; and, as usual, the Balkans, where the impending break-up of the Little Entente threatens a return to the old chaos of before the war. Outside of Europe, we note China, where a second world catastrophe seems now in the making. If the western nations will withdraw their missionaries, their business men and their armies, thus restoring to China the rights robbed from her generations ago, we may see the present situation develop into a great renaissance of oriental life which will make a new epoch in human history. But what chance is there of these occidental powers voluntarily retiring? And, failing this, what words can be found to describe the horrors of violence and carnage certain to engulf the Chinese people and eventually all mankind? In our part of the world, we note as a danger-spot the border-line between the United States and Mexico. News gets more disquieting every hour—news from Washington about ultimatums and army maneuvers, news from Mexico City about disturbances and bloodshed. A war is on the way, no doubt about that! Nor is such a war the whole or the worst of the story. For the Mexican trouble, along with Nicaragua, Haiti, and the rest, is only the first phase of that developing American imperialism, which is bound, sooner or later, to bring the United States into death-grips with the whole Latin-American world to the south. Danger spots everywhere! Wars impending in Europe, Asia, Central and South America, which already make the Great War of 1914 look puny in comparison! A man who can see peace in such a prospect has a faith that could "remove mountains."

We are inclined to think that we should have some doubts about the "red" Bolshevists in Russia, if it were not for the 100 per cent "white" Americans here in the United States. When we are told, for example, by various and sundry patriotic societies, that Jane Addams and David Starr Jordan and Felix Frankfurter are "reds," that the Church Peace Union and the National Council for the Prevention of War and the American Association for Labor Legislation and the American Civil Liberties Union are Bolshevist organizations, that the work of the Consumers League and of the League for the Abolition of Capital Punishment and of the Fellowship of Faiths is financed by Moscow, then we begin to feel that these Russian revolutionists must be wonderful people. They are behind the Collegiate Anti-Militarist League?—then it can't be true that they are advocates of force and violence! They have wormed their way into the Meadville Theological School and the Union Theological Seminary?—then it must be a lie

that they are a gang of atheists seeking the destruction of religion! They were behind the La Follette movement in the last presidential campaign?—then do they represent everything that is finest and best, most enlightened and progressive in the great body of our American citizenship! In other words, wherever we see in this country any man or movement definitely seeking to improve the world, we are promptly told by those who say they know that this man or movement is "red." Bolshevism is the one title which seems to fit everything that is idealistic and everybody who is socially and spiritually minded in America. Which means that Bolshevism is a much more wonderful and sacred thing than we had ever dared to imagine! When we look at Bolshevism as it actually seems to work in Russia, we see much to criticize as well as praise. But when we look at Bolshevim as we are told it is actually at work here in America at every center of enlightenment from Hull House through Bryn Mawr College to the Boston Community Church, we see nothing to condemn and everything to reverence. If our 100 per centers are correct, then we may well pray that the "reds" may triumph everywhere.

The above editorial paragraph had hardly been written when another illustration of our argument was dramatically presented to the world. With the fall of Shanghai reverberating like thunder 'round the world, with the Cantonese army sweeping on from triumph to triumph, and the whole Chinese people bursting into a flame which will devour the ancient feudalism of that great empire and consume the foreign occupations like so much stubble, Sir Esme Howard, British Ambassador to the United States, arose to inform mankind that the Soviets are behind it all. The Bolsheviki are the fomenters and leaders of the whole Chinese revolt. Well, well, this is the greatest yet! These Russians are more wonderful and beneficent than we had ever dared, even in our most sympathetic moments, to realize. Think of it! These Bolsheviki are the ones who have stirred these long-slumbering Chinese to their great awakening. When has anybody anywhere ever spoken such a word of praise as this? Sir Esme has outdone Zinovieff himself in his exaltation of the "reds" of Moscow. Again we asseverate that, if all that their direst enemies say about them is true, the Soviets are the greatest emancipating force that mankind has ever known. All up for the "reds"! But of course it's not true. It can't be true. It's too good to be true. As a matter of fact the Russian revolutionaries are directly responsible for nothing that is going on in China today. They sympathize with the Cantonese, of course. They are giving all the aid and comfort to their campaign that they can. Alone among western governments, the Soviets are treating the Chinese as equals. But this only means that the Bolheviki are wise in their day and generation, and incidentally are enlightened and progressive. They recognize an emancipating movement when they see it, and answer a cry for liberty when they hear it. Would that other nations did the same! But at bottom the Chinese awakening is its own. Sun Yat Sen was as native a leader as Cromwell, Washington, or Gandhi. *This is the Chinese War of Independence!* Russia is helping China today as France helped America in 1776. And Sir Esme Howard is still the representative of King George III.

Speaking of China, why are United States marines in that country? To protect missionaries? Look at the pictures now being published in American papers. The word "Socony," in unmistakably American, and in Chinese characters which probably mean the same thing, flames out in foreground and background. In Nanking the foreign troops were bent upon the defense of Socony Hill. The story of Mexico is told anew in China. Oil must be sought and oil interests must be protected. American missionaries are in China. They were, and some of them still are. But United States marines are not in China by their invitation or through their solicitation. On the contrary, individual missionaries, groups of missionaries, even missionary corporations in America, have specifically requested that no armed effort be made to protect them or to interfere with any party, governmental or other, in dealing with them. The one American missionary, at this writing reported to have lost his life, certainly left no message behind calling for reprisals for his death. No! Commerce, peculiarly greedy and forth-putting commerce, has sent our marines into China. They are barricading and shooting and cutting in defense of this sacred cause. We insist upon guaranteeing to the Chinese their God-given right to buy our goods. The Chinese must have liberty to enrich us even if we have to fight for it, and kill some of them to insure it. Give us this liberty or give the Chinese death! The Chinese populace are a sorry lot, we are asked to believe. They cut each other's throats. One political party slaughters its opponents. They are scandalously illiterate. They are utterly incapable of self-government. They are a lot of bandits and highwaymen. So our marines must be hustled off to keep them peaceable enough to sell kerosene to. There is little rhyme or reason in much of our politics; at the bottom of the abysm of illogicality will be found our military operations in poor, bewildered China.

Score another against the party-system. The legislative season has closed in New York State. Mr. Smith was put back into the Governor's chair for the fourth time, by one of his largest majorities. At the same time the same voters put in office a hostile legis-

lature, knowing full well that the two must frustrate the efforts each of the other. The untrammeled, unbiased judgment of the electorate, as far as such a thing can be esteemed to exist, is with the Governor. But his measures have failed. The failure of his legislative program during the session of the legislature just closed has been the most conspicuous in his long-drawn-out battle with hostile law-makers. And so years have been wasted, immense sums of the public money have been dissipated in idle discussion by petty politicians, and the public interests have suffered incalculable injury. The voters of New York like Governor Smith. They not only like him personally, but they consider him an efficient executive. On the whole they approve his statesmanship. But they do not like his party. They do not trust it, out of New York City. They cannot even trust Governor Smith to manage his own party, if it should be put in power. Most often, under our bungling political system, it is necessary to take the party to get the man. Isolated instances like that of Governor Smith have revealed a way at least occasionally to get the good man even out of a bad party. But such experiences are usually disillusioning. The best man in office, under our party system, is more or less helpless without a supporting party. So, there we are! We are thoroughly, cynically in despair over the competence of the old political parties, yet unable to use an efficient public servant because of their interference. How long, O People; how long?

We find ourselves wanting to say a word about that man (name forgotten) who was convicted in Toronto the other day on a charge of blasphemous libel against God. This man is a free-thinker. Hating the old, traditional idea of God, he made public ridicule of certain Old Testament texts describing the character of the deity. "My object was to liberalize public opinion," he says, "I thought I could do some good." The first and obvious, indeed the inevitable and necessary, thing to say about this case is that it is more ridiculous than anything that the offender in question may have said about Jehovah. Imagine God needing the defense of the state against a libeler; imagine the state seriously undertaking such a defense; imagine a law which makes possible such a defense! The whole procedure is almost too preposterous to be believed. It makes a Gilbert and Sullivan opera look like something sober, sad and serious. But there is a tragedy as well as a joke in this case. For conviction on a charge of this kind is an attack upon liberty of thought and speech which cannot be laughed away. Shall a man not be allowed to level the shafts of ridicule against an antiquated and immoral type of superstition which passes itself off as religion? Are we forever to be denied the privilege of laughing at a God who let the devil get the best of him in Eden, or denouncing a God who bade Samuel hew Agag in pieces? Is a new Ingersoll to be debarred from pointing out "the mistakes of Moses," or a new Voltaire from pouring out the vials of his contempt and wrath upon the cult of the Virgin? But there is still another thing to be said about this case. What about the ethical responsibility of a man who seriously desires to "liberalize opinion" and to "do some good" in the way of dispelling ignorance and superstition? Does he owe nothing to good taste and decency? Is he emancipated by reason of his high purpose from the ordinary standards of courtesy that prevail among intelligent people? Are there no such things as dignity and mutual respect in religious controversy? We agree with the theology of the Toronto free thinker, so far as we understand it; we denounce his arrest and conviction as silly and offensive to just principles of civil liberty; but we deplore his bad manners and his shocking indignities of speech.

The Law of the World

The ministers in many of the churches were reading the other day from an ancient Hebrew Psalm the words: "The Lord is on my side." Some of us didn't like the expression and declined to read it with the ministers. There are many passages like it in the so-called "Gospel of John." They seem egotistic and self-centered. The modern mind does not relish them. "I am the way and the truth and the life." No modern teacher likes to take this tone. Yet behind such expressions is often concealed a great thought which everyone needs to recognize.

For example, let us turn one of these quaint sayings the other way around, or at least into some other form and it proves to be just what we want to say. Thus, let us say, not: The Lord is on my side; therefore, I will not fear, but let us find out the Lord's side —the righteous side, the cosmic side, the side of universal and everlasting welfare for all mankind, and let us prosecute that side and devote ourselves to its work; and therefore we shall never fear what man can do to hurt us. To say this and to mean it and purpose it is fine and both restful and bracing. To say this intelligently—"heart and soul and mind and strength" is to enlist, or re-enlist, in the mightiest of hosts, and with all the best company that ever has lived. It is to place ourselves in the procession of the leaders of mankind and at the same time to take a stand by the side of all honest toilers and with the oppressed and suffering; it is to begin straightway to try to offer them our helping hands, and to make this a better world to live in.

Everyone remembers the story of Abraham

Lincoln when a delegation of ministers waited on him to beg him to appoint a National Fast Day when all the people should join in praying the Lord to take our side at an alarmingly stormy period of the Civil War. Did it look to some of them as if God were fighting on the Confederate side? Lincoln promptly told them that he was not concerned to get the Lord on our side; he was not at all afraid that God would defend slavery. Did his clear mind possibly have doubting moments when he queried whether the good God could prosper any body of men who were engaged in killing one another? At any rate he saw that the law of the world is righteousness, that it never was anything else or less, that nothing could succeed unless it was essentially righteous. If he might only have seen also that righteousness is not merely what we men call "justice," but it is also kindliness, mercy, consideration, pity, continual and patient good will—men's attitude and spirit—that there never were nor can be only two sides, one all right where God stands to support one line of destroyers, and the other all wrong where men deserve to go to destruction at the hands of their brethren—could the great-hearted Lincoln have seen this, the whole history of the world might have been altered. Alas! no church had as yet arisen to teach the full-orbed Gospel of the Eternal Goodness, of the ever-pitiful one, who "hateth nothing that he hath made."

Let us return to the vision of our beautiful law and try to gain clearer sight of what happens whenever a man or a people choose it. Even a child having heard the little slogan, "Be sure first that you are right and then go ahead," feels good in treading the solid footing under him. Now, it is the nature of law to be always urging and pressing that on which it plays to go its way and in no other way. Or rather, let us say that law acts vitally like a wonderful motion, and that the human nature—the intelligent principle in us is made to react instinctively, as every particle of life in the fruit-tree is moved to play its part in compassing the fulfilment of its growth. So the child feels the mighty motion in him and about him to grow into his place as a man; and so the man finds as he grows and obeys this life instinct that he is thus doing his part in the world of human society.

They used to say a good deal about "salvation," as if men were derelicts, as if every natural man began his life averse to the universal law of his being. We learn no longer to say a word about "being saved." We propose to set before ourselves a marvelous process of growth and fulfillment. We may already see the Great Nature and our human nature meeting each other and cooperating to make men and women, such as some men and women have always been, such as it is the creative nature in all men to be—mature in their humanity, no longer stunted and deformed—lovable and worthy of love, generous, friendly, high-minded, not ugly, mean, selfish and quarrelsome—in a word, normal human beings, not animals, not merely grown-up children. Is not this the gospel of the dignity and pricelessness of manhood? And does any one suppose that our nature is averse to it, that is to the vision of its own largeness, whenever we begin to catch the beauty of the ideal?

Ah! There are times, of course, when even the master workmen, being men and not gods, are weary, and crude egotism rises up to utter pessimism, and to make fretful judgments. But no man ever behaves in this way when he is at his best. "This one thing I do." Losing our purpose we lose light and life. We take up our purpose and we resume health of body and spirit.

All this is intensely practical with reference to everyone's daily living, to the business of making happy homes, teaching children to grow up and not down, carrying on the immense work of feeding, clothing and housing a civilized population. We are apt to find fault with our neighbors and associates, we complain of our inadequate surroundings. What sort of neighbors do the others find in us? What kind of environment are we contributing to set up for other people? What side are we on in the eternally recurring questions of truth, justice, kindness, devotion, upon the right answering of which the good health of our community absolutely depends?

This is especially true when we consider the vast political conditions in which cities and nations crowd one another in a fearful, tumultuous competition. We long ago tried out aristocracy and monarchy and we have no more use for them. We thought fondly that we could build a happy civilization under the magic name of democracy. What success does any one see in such democracy as has hitherto prevailed. The fact is, we have expected too much of governments, as though they could hand down wisdom, security and justice to their people, as though our governmental chiefs know any better how to serve the welfare of their peoples and keep the peace with other governments than other selfish, meddlesome and intriguing political personages. Where have governmental people ever honestly cooperated for the advancement of human welfare? Probably, indeed, of all men who have tried their hands in the practical work of the world these head men of nations either here or abroad have generally contrived to do the least good and the greatest mischief.

This is not to say that the leaders of men are worse than the men they lead. The officers of a ship need to know more than the ordinary seamen, and unless they know where the ship is going and care altogether more for the safety of their passengers and crew than they care for their own pay or their rank or their lives, they become as dangerous as pirates.

Take the case of our Presidents. We give them power to command men, money, ships and the most

tremendous machinery of war, such as Sultans never possessed. No man ought to be clothed with such authority. We proceed to cultivate their egotism and ambition. If any man ought literally and practically to seek first the Kingdom of God and his righteousness, it is the President of the United States. But how many of our citizens ever ask whether a supreme consideration of righteousness enters into our President's policy with regard to our relations to the millions of the inhabitants of Mexico, Central and South America and of all Islands between us and them? There was never such a need for modesty, never such need of generous consideration for men of every race and color. How should our President have dared to despatch soldiers and sailors both to China and Nicaragua! Is it possible that he heard any divine command for such sanguinary adventures?

It is written: Woe to the land whose king is a child. It was never more true than today. It means not only the vision of the factions and the anarchy when in old times an infant succeeded to a throne, but much more today, wherever men, either self-chosen or selected by light-minded and partisan votes, undertake the prodigious task, not merely of ordering public affairs for their own countrymen, but the inordinate enterprise of forcing themselves upon people over the borders, or even overseas and compelling "foreigners" to do the will of a stronger power. Are they not children who loose the ship from its moorings ignorant of where they are going? Is it not time for a grand revival of the plain religion of the law: "Thou shalt love the Lord, thy God," that is the God within us, our best visions of the good life, the open mind, the kindly temper, the warm devotion, high faith with hope to match, without which no university education fits a man to serve his fellows, but with which wisdom and courage needful for every actual duty lift up and endow the humblest children of men to act daily the noblest parts in the grand drama of life. Where has anyone ever tried this way and been disappointed? This would be the failure of the Universe.

CHARLES F. DOLE.

Jottings

"The close association between the Cantonese leaders and agents of the Russian Soviet Government is not pleasing to the officials of the Washington administration."—N. Y. *Times*, March 28.

Well, well, now—think of that! We have no doubt that General Chang will take immediate steps to remedy this situation. For certainly his prime desire must be to be "pleasing" to Mr. Coolidge.

A Japanese officer at Nanking went ashore, "purposely unarmed, to avoid provocation," and successfully evacuated 190 of his beleaguered fellow countrymen. This non-resistant intervention seems to have been more effective than all the bombardments by the English and American forces.

Scientists propose a new name for wood alcohol—*Methanol*. They believe that this change will reduce the number of casualties from poisoned drink by removing the suggestion of a substance suitable for beverage purposes. A rose by any other name may smell as sweet, but alcohol by any other name may act less fatally. Perhaps here is the solution of the Prohibition question. Who wants to drink methanol?

Mussolini declares that the policies of the Allies since the signing of the Treaty of Versailles have been "inconsistent, inconsequential and contradictory." For once we find ourselves in agreement with the Italian dictator. This is a moderate statement of incontrovertable truth.

We are reminded that it was two thousand years ago that Virgil was born. Italy is planning to celebrate the anniversary with fitting ceremonies this month. We recall Tennyson's lovely lines:

> I salute thee, Mantovano,
> I that loved thee since my day began,
> Wielder of the stateliest measure
> Ever moulded by the lips of man.

This week's champion joke: the action of the United States government in attempting to prove an American Indian to be an "alien"! J. H. H.

From The Brahmin

"It is not blessedness to know that thou, thyself, art blest;
True joy was never yet by one, not e'en by two, possest.
Not to the many is it given, but only to the all.
The joy that leaves one soul unblest would be, for mine, too small.
And, he who has this ardent love will strive, with earnest soul,
To work out his own, proper good by working for the whole."

American Notes

[Editorial Correspondence]

Lynn H. Hough, of Detroit, is one of the best preachers I have heard for several years. His church, the Central Methodist, is situated on the Grand Circus Park, on which the Y. M. C. A. also is to be found. I am stopping at the "Y" where I spoke at breakfast on Mexico, before the "Y Village Government"—meaning that the dormitory is organized on the Commission Plan, with mayor, commissioners, etc. And by the way, I think it is felt around the "Y" that a "Bone-head" was played, at the time of the Labor convention. Mistakes will happen. And while it does not justify, yet it does explain a little, to remember, that at the time the "Y" was in the midst of a money-raising campaign and out for enough to put up five buildings, each to cost $750,000 and also that Detroit is in America the de luxe non-union town. In this connection, I was pleased to note when I came in my room, 610, on the writing desk a couple of copies of Detroit *Young Men,* containing accounts of the recent visit of Sherwood Eddy, of the "Y" sponsoring two of them, presided over by Mr. Stuker, the General Secy. of the "Y" and that a dinner given by the "Y" to Fletcher Brockman—a "Y" man for 30 years in China, gave some of the straightest and sanest talk on China it has been my privilege to hear. Brockman pointed out that the Chinese were simply seeking to realize the principles of Sun Yet Sen, who got them from Lincoln, and as to help "given by Russia, China is doing what America did during the Revolutionary War, when she gladly accepted the help of France, who sent Lafayette just as Russia sent Borodin to China." Some "Y" men are our best statesmen; this should not be forgotten.

But, I was writing of Dr. Hough. He spoke to 2,000 people this morning on "The Shining Way." Of course, it was the way of the righteous. The life of the man who challenges the everyday sagacity of experience is sure to enjoy the glory of the closing perfect day. The preacher majored on Jeremiah and Job. Jeremiah spent 12 years in telling his nation that it was going to the devil. Some of the little politicians told Jeremiah that, "our business is to win the war—we'll talk about principles after the war—your talk is inopportune—it will undermine the morale of our young men." "Did you ever hear talk like that?" asked Dr. Hough, "Well, I want to say that I agree with the Roman Catholics when they say that the will of God is supreme to the government of any nation." "Any government that protects the oil interests, operating in Mexico, by threatening war is unworthy of obedience." And then he spoke of China, long-suffering China, that had waited long to secure justice. What would Detroiters think if Chinese put up some signs in Grand Circus Park, with the words, "Americans and dogs not admitted," as was done not long ago in Shanghai. And now China is attempting to find her life. They may act rough at times but no more so than Americans acted toward the royalists in 1776. Immediate interests always stand in the way of justice. They did in the days of Jeremiah and Job. The price of truth is not cash but blood. Truth leads a man to the end of a perfect day. Jeremiah and Job found it, by holding on through suffering. They got the vision and followed on and were satisfied. Their joy is sanctioned by the fact that men remember them as we remember them today. We are not recalling the petty politicians that shouted, "Win the war and talk of principles afterwards." Go to hear Dr. Hough, when in Detroit. If there were more such preachers, there would be no talk about failure in the churches.

There is one man in Detroit whom I should dislike to miss seeing while passing through. It is Reinold Niebuhr. Whenever I have of late read of something brave happening in Detroit his name has been usually associated with it. So, when I saw that he would speak at Bonstelle Theatre at 2:45 p. m. I found myself there. Some Lenten services, I believe arranged by Bonstelle, conducted by different clergymen.

I had some difficulty at first in getting used to the setting! Huge royal purple curtain, low lights, which went lower (if they had gone much lower, this that I write would have been lost to the world), the word, Exit, rather conspicuous for people who have come apart to rest and worship and then the big curtain went slowly up, revealing the stage all set with the choir, and in the foreground my friend Niebuhr. Back of the group was a painting of a sea, which I took to be Galilee or the Dead Sea, without much stretch of imagination. When I looked upon the scene and Reinold Niebuhr, it was easy for me to think of Peter or John. And after the choir had given "Cast thy burden on the Lord" and "Who shall ascend unto the Hill of the Lord?—He that hath clean hands and a pure heart," I was ready to hear the preacher speak about "A Kingdom not of this World." He spoke of the tragic significance of man in being a creature of two kingdoms. Groups of men must learn how to act for the right in view of some high value. The world is changed by those who are not of the world. Justice has never produced peace, but peace has come through those who persisted for the right in sacrifice. Progress has come through those who have not been "practical"—who could not qualify for the barn-yard. Men really live by seeking the absolute, not by finding it. An exact photograph is not the highest art, but that which represents the unattained. Space is but the span of the long love of man. And when the choir sang, "There is a green hill, far away," I was ready to go out into the street, saying I will "try his works to do." Reinold Niebuhr is certainly "one honest preacher"—though I am Quaker enough in taste to say I think he would look better in another setting.

And, afterwards, I broke the ancient injunction, to walk slowly from the synagogue, and instead hurried down to the big Auditorium of the Cass Technical High school, where H. W. L. Dana of Boston was giving a Forum address, before the Labor Federation, on "Labor and the Drama." I arrived in time to hear him start a discription of three European writers, Toller to begin with. The auditorium was altogether too large for the occasion, which added to the difficulty of the speaker, and audience as well. Yet, it was a brilliant effort, and I doubt if his famous ancestor could have done any better. Certainly the speaker complimented this Labor audience by giving his best. When the meeting had gone on for nearly three hours, Mr. Dana carefully replied to questioners, even when a question might not be germane. And his audience held up well, consid-

ering that it was a discussion of literature, showing more intelligence than doubtless would be found in a college group.

He believes that the next dramatic expression will come from the workers. He remarked that all over the world, Labor was challenging the present system: first, in industry; second, in politics by getting hold of the ballot; third, in education, through labor schools and the press. A revolution is in progress now in the realm of ideas. China is revealing one of the supreme chapters of history where is being won a victory of ideas. The drama, he believed, would play an important part in the people's education. And, it was among the workers that dramas were being *written*, as well as being acted. The section of society, or of the human family, that *expressed* itself—emotions and ideas—was the part that was *alive*. To be able *only to act* was a sign of decay, and that one was living in the past. And the future belongs to the *living*. This is Mr. Dana's reason for believing that the future belongs to the worker. This is why he is so deeply interested in Labor education.

Last night, I went up to the great Public Library. In the marble hall, I noted a bust to one, Cass. I inquired, if it was a donor. Poor innocent! It was of the first governor of the State, I was told, with a look, near to pity. Such is fame! I found myself in the wonderful Reference Room, and was drawn to a rack, with "Lenten Reading." And a book, named "Rebel Saints" turned its face up toward me, and I sat and read of those wonderful Quakers, now dead, but, who, as Dr. Hough said, walked in the shining way. O may their tribe increase today! Theirs was the faith that overcame the world. And in the preface of the book, I read these words of Whitman: "I say where liberty draws not the blood out of slavery, there slavery draws the blood out of liberty." I think that Henry Ford is a great man and benefactor of mankind. But Whitman will be read, when the last "Ford" is scrapped. Detroit is a puzzling city. SYDNEY STRONG.

The Story of My Experiments with Truth

[The Autobiography of Mahatma Gandhi]

(Copyrighted, 1927)

PART III—CHAPTER I

Rumblings of the Storm

This was my first voyage with my wife and children. I have often observed in the course of this narrative that on account of child marriages amongst middle class Hindus, whilst the husband is literate the wife remains almost illiterate and a wide gulf separates the life of the wife from that of the husband who has to become his wife's teacher. So I had to think out the details of the dress my wife and children were to adopt, the food they were to eat, and the manners suited to their new surroundings. Some of the recollections of those days cause much amusement. A Hindu wife regards implicit obedience to her husband as the highest religion. A Hindu husband regards himself as the lord of his wife who must always dance attendance on him.

I believed at the time I am writing of that in order to look civilized our dress and manners had to approximate to the European standard as far as possible. For, I thought only thus could we have some influence and without influence it was not possible to serve the community.

So I determined the style of dress of my wife and children. How could I like them to be known as Kathiawar Banias? The Parsis used then to be regarded as the most civilized amongst Indians, and so, where the complete European style seemed to be unsuited, we adopted the Parsi style. Accordingly my wife wore the Parsi *sari* and boys the Parsi coat and trousers. Of course no one should be without stockings and shoes. It was long before my wife and children got used to them. The shoes cramped their feet and the stockings stank with perspiration. The toes often got sore. I had always my answers ready for all these objections. But I have an impression that it was not the answers but the force of authority that carried conviction. They agreed to the changes in dress because there was no other alternative. In the same spirit and with more reluctance they adopted the use of knives and forks. When my infatuation for these signs of civilization wore away, they gave up the knives and forks. The return to the original mode was perhaps no less irksome than these changes after having been long accustomed to them. But I can see today that we feel all the freer and lighter for having cast off the tinsel of "civilization."

On board the same boat with us were some relatives and acquaintances. These and other deck passengers I frequently met because I was free to move about anywhere and everywhere on the boat as it belonged to my client friends.

As the boat was making straight for Natal, without calling at intermediate ports, our voyage was of only eighteen days. But as though to warn us of the coming real storm on land a strong gale overtook us whilst we were only four days from Natal. December is a month of summer and monsoon in the Southern hemisphere, and so gales, great and small, were quite common in the Southern seas. The gale in which we were caught was so sharp and prolonged that the passengers were alarmed. It was a solemn scene. All became one in face of the common calamity. They forgot their differences and began to think of the one and only God—Musalmans, Hindus, Christians and all. Some took various vows. The captain also joined the passengers in their prayers. He assured them all that though the storm was not without danger he had experience of many more dangerous ones, and explained to them that a well-built ship could stand almost any weather. But they were inconsolable. Every moment were heard sounds and crashes which foreboded breaches and leaks. The ship rocked and rolled so much that it seemed as though she would capsize any moment. It was out of the question for any one to remain at this hour on deck. "His will be done," was the only cry on every lip. So far as I can recollect we must have been in this plight for about twenty-four hours. At last the sky cleared,

the sun made his appearance, and the captain said that the storm had blown over. People's faces again beamed with gladness and with the disappearance of danger disappeared also the name of God from their lips. Eating and drinking, singing and merrymaking again became the order of the day. The fear of death was gone, and the momentary mood of earnest prayer gave place to *maya*. There were of course the usual *namaz* and the prayers, but they had none of the solemnity of that dread hour.

But the storm had made me one with the passengers. It may be said that I had little or very little fear of the storm, for I had had experience of similar ones. I am a good sailor and do not get seasick. So I could fearlessly move amongst the passengers bringing them comfort and good cheer, and conveying to them the hourly reports of the captain. The friendship I thus formed stood me, as we shall see, in very good stead.

The ship cast anchor in the port of Durban on the 18th or 19th of December. The *"Naderi"* also reached there the same day.

But the real storm was still to come.

M. K. GANDHI.

(*Translated from the Navajivan by Mahadeo Desai.*)

Gandhi at the Last All-India National Congress

The forty-first Indian National Congress was called to order on the stroke of twelve on December 26. Delegates representing all the nationalities of India, grouped according to the districts from which they came, filled the vast oval tent. Nearly all of them wore white caps and white gowns made of khaddar. One saw black-bearded men from the North, spectacled intellectuals from the South, people of every age and caste and rank and race and sect; in their simple and uniform clothing they looked less like an army than like a great peaceful family. . .

After the president's speech telegrams were read from prominent leaders who were prevented from being present. These invariably laid special stress on the necessity of Hindu-Mohammedan unity. The first topic of general discussion was the recent assassination of a prominent Hindu leader, Swami Shradhanad, by a Moslem fanatic. Hindus and Mohammedans alike deplored the incident and pleaded for religious toleration.

A little, slim man darted out from the group of leaders in order to read the resolution of regret from the tribune. He wore only a loin cloth and a sash thrown over his shoulders. His head was shaved smooth except for a thin bush of hair which hung down from his crown. Small, lively, penetrating, shrewd eyes lighted up his face. His nose was rather long and pointed. Beneath his moustache was a serious mouth with pursing lips, a mouth that can laugh heartily, revealing when it does so the absence of several teeth. One might think him an ugly man if it were not for the wonderful charm of his manner and the grace of his movements. A box was set upon the tribune and a chair placed upon the box, upon which the little man seated himself. Instantly the murmur of the great audience was hushed. Mahatma Gandhi spoke. He put on his glasses and read slowly and distinctly the resolution in English; then, taking off his glasses, he began to speak extemporaneously in Hindustani. His clear voice, which never rose to shrillness, penetrated to the farthest confines of the great assembly tent. His only gesture was an occasional movement of the left hand, in which he held his glasses; but he spoke with a persuasiveness that instantly won assent. He had foreseen the dreadful deed which now horrified all India. Swami was not, in his eyes, a martyr to be mourned, but a hero to be honored. His death was a mighty call to reason. The blow had not struck Swami, but India, which had not the courage to emancipate herself from her great disgrace, Hindu-Mohammedan disunity. . . .

After the first resolution, two others were adopted without debate. Both were drafted by Gandhi, and related to the status of Indian emigrants in Africa. Madame Sarojini Naidu, the poetess, who, like Gandhi, has resided in that continent, followed Gandhi with one of the most brilliant and appealing addresses of the Congress. She pictured with vivid, ardent words and a great wealth of literary figures the condition of the Indian settlers in Africa. Every sentence was perfectly rounded and complete. Her address was a gem of extemporaneous eloquence. . . .

An English reporter wrote of the Congress that Gandhi was merely an antiquity. If so, all the members must have been antiquarians, for he was the gathering's uncrowned emperor. His hut occupied a special place in the leader's camp, close to the banks of the Brahmaputra. From early morning a crowd of countrymen stood there in the chilly rain, waiting for a glimpse of the Mahatma. The hut itself was as simple as possible, but a subtle atmosphere of distinction pervaded it. Its only ornament was a colored print of Buddha over the entrance. The loose shutters were blown back and forth by the wind, a pale half-light filled the interior, the rain drummed on the roof. Great men stood waiting for an audience. The poetess, Sarojini Naidu, exclaimed to me enthusiastically, "That marvelous little big man!" What is the secret of the mysterious influence exercised by this Messianic personality, who advanced with a light step and a smiling countenance, and shook my hand like an English gentleman? Possibly his utter absence of affectation, his perfect sincerity and candor, his universal sympathy, have much to do with it. Gandhi's position at the Congress was like that of an emperor who does not quite agree with the policies of his cabinet but permits his advisers to carry them out in order that they may learn from experience. Since the death of Das, the Swarajists are more disturbed than ever at being separated from Gandhi. They have no one to take the place of either. I frequently heard the wish expressed that Gandhi might again take the lead of the Nationalist movement. But the Mahatma keeps his own counsel. He has the custom of maintaining absolute silence during one day of the week. He did not break it even at Gauhati, and his day of silence there happened to fall on the political day of the Congress. The following morning, however, when this question was brought up at a committee meeting, he answered frankly that he could not enter active politics again until conditions had changed. India was not as yet a disciplined nation. When the poison had cleared from the air, when hatreds such as those which animated Swami's assassination were dispelled, then he might be ready to consider returning to public life. For the time being he would spin.

Neue Zurcher Zeitung (Switzerland)

What China Wants

What happened recently in Nanking was most unfortunate. It was all the more unfortunate, since it has come to be cited as a distinct demonstration of the rise of anti-foreign feeling in China. The Chinese are not anti-foreign. They are not, but they are anti-foreign-aggression.

Any historian will tell you that from time immemorial the Chinese have been preeminently trading people. Even as early as the first century of the Christian era they carried on an active exchange in silk and other products with the Roman Orient. Originally they were not exclusive, but on the contrary, assumed a remarkably liberal attitude toward foreign intercourse, such as has been shown by few other nations in the world. They welcomed embassies from neighboring countries and despatched missions abroad to foster trade and other relations. The portals of the Kingdom were thrown wide open to all aliens, regardless of calling, profession or creed. There was neither closing of markets nor imposition of restrictions on the practice or propagation of religious faiths. Foreigners were admitted everywhere, and even high official positions were open to strangers from afar. The whole policy was one of complete toleration and genuine hospitality, of "open door" in the truest sense of the term. This attitude continued throughout ancient and medieval times—the period in which all aliens who voluntarily resorted to China's dominions respected her laws and conformed with her institutions.

With the coming of the modern era, however, the situation was entirely transformed. At the commencement of the sixteenth century we witness the arrival of pioneers from Europe. These representatives of so-called peaceful commerce were no better than pirates. Their atrocious conduct compelled China to abandon her original generous attitude in all affairs touching aliens and to replace it by a rigid policy of exclusion. This was, doubtless, a most radical change, but it was forced on China by the outsiders. As time went on, the new policy instead of losing strength, was pursued with added vigor, for during later intercourse the westerners, who ought to have done something to correct the extremely bad impression created by their forerunners, continued to look upon things Chinese with a sense of offensive superiority, to disregard systematically Chinese laws and regulations, and to vindicate whatever they thought to be right by a ready appeal to brute force.

By various so-called treaties of "amity and commerce," which the Chinese were forced to sign, we have been stripped of two of the fundamental attributes of sovereignty—the jurisdiction over the person and property of foreigners within our dominions and the regulation of our commerce with the outside world. By extraterritoriality, the foreigner is everywhere withdrawn from Chinese control and is rendered amenable only to the officials of his own government. The fact that the alien is exempt from local jurisdiction leads him to believe that he is under no obligation to observe the laws of China. Not only have the Chinese no control over the alien, but in many instances the Chinese authorities have shown themselves powerless to offer their subjects adequate protection against foreign encroachments.

That is not all. China is further so bound by the treaties that she is not even permitted to fix her own tariff. Not only the nominal 5 per cent rate has been insufficient to meet the growing needs of our Government, it also leaves China without the means of protecting her home industries. Since the Washington Conference, we have had an effective five per cent tariff. But the situation remains. China must win the unanimous consent of all the Powers before we can change our tariff. Generally this means we must buy their consent. There is nothing surprising in the fact that China is ever on the verge of bankruptcy. America, England, or any other country would be too, under similar restraint, rich as they may be.

The Chinese are now passing through a great national crisis. What they will be in the future depends largely upon what policy the other countries adopt towards them today. Whether peaceful China will remain peaceful, or become a warring nation, menacing the rights of other peoples, depends upon her present treatment by the Powers.

The existing treaties between China and the Powers have long been out of date. They have always hindered the free development of the Chinese people. They are not in harmony with the spirit of the times, and must, therefore, be speedily revised and overhauled so as to meet the new order that is dawning upon us. Such a revision cannot be denied to China any longer unless the treaty Powers choose to disregard the dictates of justice and pure common sense.

Tariff autonomy must be restored to China in order that she may formulate and put into force an economic policy in harmony with the interests of her people. This does not mean any desire on the part of China to impose prohibitive customs duties which will drive out foreign goods from the Chinese market. All that we want is what each of the Powers has assumed for itself as a matter of course, namely a tariff that is sufficiently responsive to changes both at home and abroad, such a one as will meet her fast-growing fiscal needs and satisfy her awakening industrial and commercial requirements.

The abolition of extraterritoriality by the Powers will doubtless be a radical change, but it is one which strikes at the root of the one mischief that runs through nearly every article of the existing treaties, the one factor that has undermined the authority of the Chinese Government and blocked all permanent good relations between China and the outside world.

So the destiny of China and the future peace of the Far East, and hence of the world probably, lie in the decision of the treaty Powers, as to their policy towards the young Republic. Their choice is a simple one. They may choose to obstruct and destroy, as they have been doing since the middle of the last century, or they may choose to restore and cooperate, as the new order in China demands. The first violates and cripples China's autonomy, and leads to the clash of antagonistic ambitions and designs among the powers. The second stimulates the development of China into a strong and progressive nation, capable of holding her own position in the world, thereby eliminating international jealousies and intrigues from the Far East. One creates international rivalry and race hatred. The other brings good will and amity among nations. The one is productive of evil, the other of good. The one leads to war, the other to peace. Which shall it be? Obstruction or cooperation? THOMAS MING-HENG CHAO.

The Study Table

War Guilt Again

Here are two more books on the origin of the Great War. One,* by Judge Bausman, whose "Let France Explain," was one of the early and important contributions to the revisionist literature on the subject of war guilt, is more than a discussion of the causes of the conflict. It is prompted primarily by the present debt situation, and is a plea to America to understand the selfishness, cupidity, ingratitude, and basically warlike purpose of "our dangerous friends," the Allies, and the real character, therefore, of the campaign for cancellation of war debts. This discussion inevitably leads back, however, to the question of the War and its origins. Certain of its chapters, therefore, are a kind of rewriting of Judge Bausman's earlier work; and the conclusions reached are an impressively strengthened and fortified version of his conclusions in this earlier work. The author demonstrates anew, in other words, what every informed and honest mind now knows, that the idea of German responsibility for the Great War is utterly ridiculous. The whole doctrine of German guilt is a product not of facts at all, but of deliberate, calculated, carefully manufactured Allied propaganda. All the documents brought to light since the War, like the secret treaties during the War, show that France, England, and especially Russia were in the dirty business up to their neck, and, once in, were getting out of it every last thing that they could grab.

What is unique in this book is the story of America's entrance into the War in 1917. That this story is from beginning to end a tale of deception—of the American government by the Allies, and of the American people by their own government—has long been known. But the details and the proofs thereof have never been better stated than in this volume. From 1914 on, America's neutral rights were wantonly violated by Great Britian, yet Washington, while excited and outraged by the slightest German move, did nothing, and thus connived at Britian's game. Wilson, always anti-German but sincerely desirous of keeping America out of the war, was gradually hoodwinked and persistently thwarted in all his peace intentions, and thus at last defeated. His cabinet was rabidly pro-English, eager to swallow any yarn of German villainy. Ambassador Page, an insane Anglophile, practiced treason in London and thus deliberately betrayed his chief. Col. House, as futile as he was egotistical, was used as a perfect tool by clever English and French statesmen, and himself used Wilson, although unconsciously, as a similar tool to the one end of getting America into the conflict. Only Bryan strove for peace—and let it be said that a more sympathetic interpretation of Bryan's role in the great drama is presented in this book than we have found elsewhere, and it seems to us convincing! At last the trap ensnared its victim, and America was dragged into the slaughter. Then was "the buck" passed to this country with a vengeance, and it has remained here, says Judge Bausman, ever since. Having been persuaded, under false pretenses of virtue on the part of the Allies, to save them in their extremity, we were fleeced by the extortion of gifts and loans, tricked at the gambling-table at Versailles, and now, when we ask timidly for part payment on a part of what is owed us in the form of debts, are denounced as Shylocks, and outlawed from the favor of mankind.

To sum up (says Judge Bausman), he is a bold man who will say that, if the United States had known in 1917 what we know now about the origins of the war and the purposes of the Allies, we would never have gone into the conflict; and so we may well ask our late friends who are reluctant to pay us what they owe, what right they have to claim virtues superior to ours, and why they can piously tell us that it was really our war they were fighting, why they lied to us as to what they were fighting for, and why they sent a multitude of propagandists to conceal, invent and misquote.

The truth about the War is thus becoming daily more manifest. The Allies were probably more directly guilty of the crime than either Germany or Austria. Having engaged the Central Empires in a struggle to the death, they proceeded forthwith to divide up the booty which they expected to grab after a quick and easy victory—see the secret treaties. At the same time they filled the world with falsehoods, villifying Germany, and painting their own celestial virtues as champions of civilization, defenders of democracy, guardians of peace, etc. Then came the crisis of a postponed victory, even imminent defeat. America must be brought in to save the day! The barrage of propaganda upon this country, already well under way, was now extended to such a bombardment as had never before been aimed at a defenceless people. Of course, we were swept away. It is a sordid, shameless tale, the truth of which is only now becoming known. As Judge Bausman did his part in exposing the earlier facts of the Allies' guilt for the War, so has he now done his part in exposing the later facts of America's betrayal in the War. As this country, on the debt question, is still the victim of fraud, his book is timely. And let it be noted that, whereas his first book, "Let France Explain," could not find a publisher in America, this latest book, "Facing Europe," is put out by the highly reputable and conservative house of the Century Company. Thus does time work its potent changes!

The new book* by Georges Demartial, one of the French correspondents of this paper, is part of a much larger piece of work covering the origins of the War which is now in preparation. Mr. Demartial is already known as one of the ablest and bravest of the French revisionists. From the beginning of the conflict, he was persuaded of his country's share of responsibility for the catastrophe, and certain of Poincare's especial guilt. Immediately after the War, in 1919, he published his widely translated *"Les Responsibilités de la Guerre, le Patriotisme et la Vérité,"* and was thus among the very first of the world's historians to challenge the myth of German guilt. Three years later, in 1922, came his famous *"Comment On Mobilisa les Consciences"*—a terrific indictment of French policy. Now comes the beginning of a vast and definitive work, based on the great mass of documents and archives published since the War, which will take the Russian mobilization, as the central feature of the whole prewar crisis, for its special study. For this mobilization, says Demartial, was the trigger which fired the explosion.

The book before us is a section of Part III of the entire work, revealing the connection of French diplomacy with the Russian mobilization. The story as here

*"Facing Europe," by Frederick Bausman. Published by the Century Company.

*"L'Evangile Du Quai D'Orsay," by Georges Demartial. Published by André Delpeuch, Paris.

set down is filled with exact and detailed data, but is written with an eloquence, a passion of scorn and irony, a flaming ecstasy of outraged idealism, which makes the reading of the text an unforgettably thrilling experience. And it is convincing, too! Demartial proves his case. We prophesy that, when the entire great work is completed and published, the last word will have been spoken on the question of war guilt. Sazonof and Poincaré, long since toppled from their pedestals, will be ground to powder. Mr. Demartial is as great an historian as Romain Rolland is an artist and prophet. How proud and happy is UNITY to have both these heroic men upon its staff.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

"The Folk High Schools of Denmark and the Development of a Farming Community"

To millions of people the name of Denmark is identified with agriculture and a highly developed system of agricultural cooperation. It seems to overshadow all other achievements, the country may boast of. It is a *fact,* that Denmark's cooperative system is an amazing system worthy of the keenest study, and worthy of the highest admiration. The system, which unites hundreds of thousands of farmers, big and small, into a huge cooperative undertaking, which produces butter, bacon and eggs of a standard-quality, could not have come about without an awakening of the peasants.

Published by Holger Begtrup, Hans Lund and Peter Manniche. Nyt Nordisk Publishing House, Copenhagen. (Arnold Busck.) Printed by Oxford University Press, Amen House, Warwick Square, London, E. C., England.—168 pages.

This awakening took place through the now world-famous people's high schools. The high-schools supplied the necessary spiritual and cultural basis for cooperation. In the book, which is mentioned above, three prominent men in the Danish high school movement attempt to explain the secret of the driving-force of the high schools. It is the first time a book of this kind has been presented to the English-speaking public.

Holger Begtrup, one of the older men in the movement, describes the origin and growth of the high schools, and depicts the life of its founders, N. F. S. Grundtvig and Christen Kold. Hans Lund paints a picture of the history of the Danish farmers, their emancipation from feudal serfdom, their ensuing economic and political struggle and victory, and the part the high schools played in attaining this victory. Peter Manniche, principal of the International People's High School at Elsinore, gives an account of the life at Borup's high school in Copenhagen, the only city high school of the Danish kind, and writes in an interesting and fascinating way of the international high school, which he conducts himself. The book deserves to be widely read. It answers many questions asked by an increasing number of persons, who are interested in adult education. It shows in a nutshell the huge, practical results of educating a whole class of people. The relationship of Denmark's enormous export of agricultural products to the first spoken words in the first simple people's high school 1841, is one of the most remarkable illustrations of the significance of education modern history affords.

PETER GULDBRANDSEN.

Prospectus

If I were to have a college of my own
The only subjects in the catalog would be athletics and poetry.
For they are the only things that matter,
And they include everything else, anyway.

My athletes would gather on the beach when the tide was low;
There I would wrestle, heave boulders and run races with them,
And give them a very poor mark if they did not beat me.
Coaches, stadiums, cheering-sections—we should manage to get along somehow without them—
And if my athletes wanted to dig clams instead of skipping flat beach stones,
Why that would be all right too, if they brought their own clam-diggers.
And when the tide swarmed in, someone would shout a great challenge;
Then we would strip off our clothing (what was left of it)
And the last one in the water would get a royal-American ducking from the others.

On spring days when the air was ammonial sharp with poetry,
We would walk into the country with oranges and baseballs in our pockets;
And when we came to a field where the grass had been clipped by grazing cows,
We would play scrub till all the covers were knocked off the baseballs.
Then how sweet the oranges would taste!
Trickling in juicy rivers down our throats as we lay under the trees, resting and talking. . . .
Under the gnarled apple-trees that always skirt a cow-pasture.

Now might be a good time for the poetry to be heard.
Instead of lecturing on Byron or Wordsworth or Dante,
I would start off by reading one of my own poems.
And we would talk about it, till some one cried in defense of his thesis,
"Here, this is what I mean; listen, you fellows, to the poem *I* have written."
Then he would pull a rumpled paper out of his hind pocket, happy, excited . . .
And after we had heard him, and disagreed perhaps (the more we disagreed the better)
We would declare a general amnesty and walk home tired and hungry.
Inwardly resolving to discover deeper and lovelier truths for the next poetical fracas.

Not many parents would care to send their children to such a college,
Without degrees or track-teams, or advertising courses,
Where everyone was his own Board of Trustees, coaching-staff and Faculty.
And now that I look back over my prospectus the whole thing seems a little bit Utopian
And destined to failure like Brook Farm or the United States, or other ideal republics.
But after all, no one can come to harm dreaming about perfection
In love or government, games or education.
And I rather imagine that if Plato were alive today
He would write me, saying: "I like the idea of your University,
For it reminds me of a school I used to attend, years ago, in Athens."

HENRY MORTON ROBINSON.

For UNITY.

Correspondence

Political Prisoners in India

Editor of UNITY:

The harrowing reports of the condition of the incarcerated patriots of Bengal should set the people of the world vigorously thinking. Long continued detention, in the majority of the cases in the most unhealthy villages and the jails in the country, have ruined the health of almost all the prisoners. The specious argument of the bureaucracy for promulgating the barbarous Ordinance Act and throwing behind prison bars the patriotic sons of India can no longer stand even for a moment. Most of the prisoners are now so ruined in health and physique that they have been permanently incapacitated for all acts of violence or conspiracy—even if one believes with childish credulity in the Government of India's assertion that they once indulged in such acts.

Divorced from all earthly affection and human ties, with no spark of hope to cheer their drooping souls, with the oppressive thought of indefinite detention constantly weighing upon them, these noble patriots are rotting day after day in their dark prison cells, and as a result have fallen a prey to various physical and mental diseases. Their chances for recovery are meagre indeed.

The wheel of time keeps moving in its usual rapid revolution. Years come and go, seasons come with all their joys knocking at the gate of every household and infusing thrills of joy into the hearts of men, women and children alike, the day dawns with refreshing vitality, the sun rises and breathes life into all animate and inanimate things, but the dark cells within the prison walls, where hundreds and thousands of our countrymen are kept enchained, are carefully guarded against all these influences. These men, whose fault lies in their patriotism, denied the elementary rights of an open trial, continue to be treated as criminals. They do not know the nature of their crimes, there is none to tell them when their suffering will come to an end, if at all —a right which even the worst criminal in the most uncivilized country is not deprived of. Years have passed away since these flowers of our nation were arrested and imprisoned without trial as dangerous revolutionists.

The action has been denounced from hundreds of platforms; public opinion has unanimously demanded their release, but to no purpose. Alarming reports about the state of their health have now, some how or other, escaped the prison walls and made their appearance in the press. Public opinion which has in the past expressed itself in the clearest possible terms has once more been asserted in the Legislative Assembly at Delhi, but the bureaucracy continues to betray the same callousness and the same contempt for public feeling which has ever been its habit.

However, repression and lawlessness, far from crushing the spirit of freedom, has only stiffened the determination of the people for India's total independence, and a time will soon come when the "Sleeping Dragon" in India will shake off its sleep once for all and when the thirty millions of Indians will march as true Sataygrahis (Passive Resisters) to fill the prison themselves to such an extent that the prison walls unable to contain them any longer, will burst asunder to bring the inmates not to a bigger prison but to the altar of liberty. A new age will dawn in the world, and that day is not very far. Meanwhile, let the martyrdom of our brothers in jail inspire the down-trodden nations of the whole world with the religion of sacrifice and suffering.

Bombay, India. D.

A Total Abstainer Opposes Prohibition

Editor of UNITY:

UNITY is the most treasured of all the periodicals I read. The contents are of so excellent a character that no matter how important my duties I try to read it all at one sitting. Sometimes certain duties are neglected because UNITY seems more important.

As one who enjoys and at the same time tries to reason on the mental feast in UNITY I wish to discuss your squib relative to prohibition. You say "We know of only one way to get rid of an evil and that is to destroy it altogether." If the question was as simple as discussing a pile of rubbish to be burned and thus gotten rid of, we could all agree, but this question of prohibition of the use of alcohol is not quite so simple. We are supposed to be a democracy with officials delegated to do what we individually have a right to do ourselves.

These delegated powers are but an extension of ourselves. In practice this theory is prostituted. Corruption, bribery, perversion, nullification and other evils flow from the devious and crooked acts of our agents. The cause may be economic or fallible human weakness. Why do people drink alcohol? Is it innate depravity? Is it poor physical structure? Is it universal hypocrisy as shown in statutes and administration of law so the powerful who are guilty escape and the guilty poor are punished, or rather a greater proportion are? Is it lip service in religious instruction? Is it false and misleading and inadequate education through fear of undermining established privileged institutions? Is it militarism which teaches disregard for human life? Is it the desire for thrills? We can go far afield in our inquiry. We are dealing with a fact and not a theory that people drink and desire to drink. My own reaction as a life-time abstainer is this. Drinking, like card playing, or playing of other games, is the satisfying of the gregarious instinct. Few people indulge alone. Education today is not in the direction of cultivation of the spiritual gifts of man as exemplified in art, music, love of nature, inquiry into the relation of man to his fellows. The trend of education is toward substituting secondary things as means of enjoyment. These secondary things are those which do not demand active effort of mind and body to attain. As the secondary things do not satisfy we have the paradox of students committing suicide on the threshold of their career claiming life is not worth living. The use of tobacco has grown apace. Dr. Kress of Washington, D. C., declares, on the authority of impartial scientific investigators that if women universally use tobacco the race will soon become sterile. Tobacco is an evil when used by men, but far more so when used by women. Alcohol used to excess is a terrible and montrous evil. Those who use it in moderation must injure themselves. Why then object to prohibition? To answer for myself I will say, many evils are tolerated which perhaps do greater injury by restriction. You have referred to the restriction of the sale of narcotics as a beneficent law. I would inquire, why the use of narcotics by physicians who are ofttimes instrumental in introducing their patients to the use of these deadly drugs? Why not urge a way of life to avoid the use of drugs and operations, to so minor a degree as to be nominal.

The Chief of Staff, Major General Summerall, in an address on Washington's Birthday declared "lack of training caused the loss of thousands of lives of our youth and the loss of billions of dollars." You take the stand that preparedness provokes war. Who is right? History is appealed to and read according to the bias of the person reading it. Likewise with the drink evil. Human beings as constituted will assert their individuality by making liquor and using it, unless good reasons are given for them to act to the contrary. To my mind restriction will not restrict. Restriction may lessen its use but the evil of putting power in the hands of enforcers who as fallible beings are open to terrible temptation, to corruption; the feeling of injustice engendered in the minds and hearts of those who do not misuse liquor to a marked degree, in the feeling that society has no right to meddle with them, creates an indifference and disregard for all values. Parents do not want their children to become drunkards. Parents are not averse to education but education except by example is almost futile. Here is the vicious circle. Parents not setting the right example. Scientific facts if truly scientific I believe will be against the use of stimulants or depressants of any sort except those that are truly physiological, i. e., those which do not injure the body. This I believe is the line of least resistance. The economic field ought to be studied. Education along the line of a wide field of worthy interests in the companionship of intelligent people who are not so foolish as to experiment in evils of any kind be they evils of venery, gluttony, tobacco, liquor, narcotics, etc., but who find the joy of worthy comrades to be enough. Such must be the aspiration and the goal.

Games, sports, all kinds of opportunities to live in the open for both sexes will I think be along the line of least resistance. Life is so much of a problem to me I cannot become a Prohibitionist. It presumes too much. I have faith in example, not in laws. It is abhorrent to me to

The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

THE NATIONAL STUDENT FEDERATION-OPEN ROAD STUDENT DELEGATION TO RUSSIA, 1927

The National Student Federation of America has arranged through the courtesy of the Society for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries of the U. S. S. R. and the All Russian Central Students Bureau for four American student groups to visit the Soviet Union during the coming summer. The International Student Hospitality Association is cooperating in planning the programs for the days in Berlin and Paris. The technical organization work is being done by The Open Road, Inc., 2 West 46th Street, New York City. Each tour will be headed by an American professor, graduate student or other person whose qualities and interest in Russian affairs particularly qualify him for leadership.

The groups, numbering twelve students each and a leader, will be joined upon arrival at Leningrad by a guide and interpreter, who will accompany the group throughout its stay in Russia, arranging the cultural program—contacts with professors, students, government officials, etc. So far as possible, the hosts will put the individual in touch with Russians of similar interests along the way.

The aim of the tours is to provide a cultural opportunity for a limited number of particularly qualified American students. With this in mind the following skeleton itineraries have been worked out so as to combine a program varied enough to give the student a sense of the scale and multi-sided life of the Soviet Union, and at the same time to make the experience of the individual intense enough to have educational value. With the latter aim in view, time is being allowed in most places for the individual to poke around and get acquainted with the people and wherever possible receptions by the Russian students will facilitate this end.

The itineraries as outlined here are suggestive only. It should be borne in mind that these are not routine sightseeing expeditions.

As the plans now stand all four groups will sail from New York (Tourist Third-Cabin) on June 25th, arriving at Southampton on July 2nd. They will sail from London by a connecting steamer direct to Leningrad, arriving there about the 7th of July.

A week in Leningrad and a week in Moscow for everyone: July 7-14, Leningrad; July 14-21, Moscow.

Each of the groups will travel independently after leaving Moscow. The following tentative itineraries for the different groups have been worked out with the help of our Russian hosts.

By United States Government regulation persons coming out of the Near East or Russia must allow fourteen days to elapse before embarking for the States.

Each group after leaving Russia will spend two weeks in Western Europe—probably dividing the time between Berlin and Paris.

To assure a place in one of the parties, 10 per cent of the price of the tour must be paid on registration. The balance is due 30 days before sailing. The undersigned will not be bound by any registration which does not comply with these requirements.

On cancellation made 30 days or more before sailing, the full amount received by The Open Road will be refunded. In the case of later cancellations, The Open Road will retain 10 per cent on the price of the tour as a cancellation fee.

Students registering within 30 days of sailing are liable to a supplementary late-registration charge of 10 per cent on the price of the tour. The cancellation and late-registration fee are taken on behalf of the European organizations, whose expenses in organizing the tours are increased by withdrawals or last minute registrations.

The undersigned reserve the right to cancel a tour before sailing, provided other arrangements are made satisfactory to each student concerned or money refunded in full.

After April 30th, The Open Road shall have the right to combine uncompleted parties or to supplement their membership to the requisite number. A combination of uncompleted parties shall not be subject to the conditions of refund governing cancellation.

If a student falls ill on a tour and has to leave his party, or is dropped for improper conduct, that amount will be refunded which his withdrawal enables the management to save on the expenses of the party.

In view of the character of the enterprise, the undersigned reserve the right to refuse applications which do not satisfy them, and to expel anyone whose behavior is judged unbecoming. In the latter case, he shall receive refund according to the terms of the preceding paragraph.

Because of the informal quality of

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believe in militarism for defense or offense. When I see conscientious objectors imprisoned I protest. Regarding liquor, notwithstanding the great evils flowing from its manufacture and use, I see greater evils in restriction. If Prohibition could be made a success, all obvious evils could be so abolished. With this I cannot agree, that evils can be so abolished. When people are educated to realize that the "act is to the doer and comes back most to him," then heart and mind will operate to abolish evils.

Chicago, Illinois. MORRIS LYCHENHEIM, D. O.

China

Editor of UNITY:

Now that the Nationalists are in control of Shanghai, Gilbert Reid's account of Russian soviet propaganda, and its acceptance by the Cantonese, has proven to be a timely contribution. His query, Is China sailing into a quiet harbor, or is she rushing towards the rapids? is the most important question concerning world politics today.

My opinion is that the Chinese will anchor their ship of state in a peaceful habor, and that, too, before the Western nations get theirs out of the swirlpool of militarism. The Chinese of today are descendants from a long line of peaceable ancestry. They were the last to enter the rapids and were drawn in against their will. They are not patriotic in the Western sense of the word. They are fighting, each for himself, rather than for their fatherland and frequently switch from one armed group to another, trying to keep on the winning, better provisioning side. The armies of China—and of the Western nations—are made up largely of landless, homeless, jobless, hungry, machine-displaced laborers that lack the courage or ability to individually seize a sustenance, but who in mass formation, behind cannon mouths, machine guns, tanks, bombs and other implements of civilized warfare, collect indemnities from the rest of society and in that way save themselves, for a time, from starvation.

But wars, and armies, in the end defeat their own purpose, for they are destructive, and produce more want and hunger.

The Bolshevist propaganda back of the Nationalist military movement is not in itself to bolster nationalism and militarism. It is only incidental to displacing the provincial, force wielding, likin; or tariff collecting organizations and installing in their stead, industrial, productive, distributive service organizations of workers.

That is the Bolshevist plan for rescuing China—and the rest of the nations—from militarism. Is there a stronger social force than organized, loving, fellow service?

W. P. CALKINS.

Montebello, California,

Bill Simpson and Krishnamurti

Editor of UNITY:

If Bill Simpson doesn't look out, he'll "start something!" Over here, quite neighborly as to locality, Krishnamurti and his Mama Annie are waiting for the world to rally to his messiahship. Beautiful boy—but, with $100,000 endowment, and limousine, and exclusiveness—though yet unspoiled, he's not the World-Teacher and Saviour his spiritual mother and the High priests at Adyar are trying to "put over." But, Bill, plain simple Simpson of Passaic (Bethlehem)—God knows! Bill may become Christ-Lincoln of our day!

Anyhow, UNITY—the "widow's mite" of journalism—is mightier than all the others rolled into one. Goliath's broadax blunts against your sling's pebbles.

GEORGE ELMER LITTLEFIELD.

Santa Barbara, California.

the tours, deviations from published itineraries are to be expected.

Prices are subject to the influence of marked fluctuations in exchange.

The undersigned disclaim liability for loss or damage to property, and for accident or illness which may befall persons.

Membership in the tours is necessarily selective. The nature of the reception abroad, and the limited number for whom it can be arranged, restricts membership to those applicants who seem most likely to benefit or who have most to give. The leader of the party will pass on applications. It is hoped that the groups may be representative of the best in American schools.

The International Student Hospitality Association.

The Travel Committee of the National Student Federation of America.

The Open Road, Inc.

For further information application should be made immediately to The Open Road, Inc., 2 West 46th Street, New York City.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION

Switzerland. — *Conscientious Objectors* are apparently treated with varying degrees of severity, according to information received by the War Resisters' International. While the two brothers, Maurice and Marc Dubois, received only ten days' imprisonment and a fine of 40 francs. Gottlieb Leuenberger, who refused on religious grounds, and Andreas Martig were given six weeks and three months' imprisonment respectively, in each case with loss of civil rights for one year. Edouard Liechti, secretary of the Swiss Centre for Pacifist Action at Le Locle, has been sent to prison for the second time

* * *

Poland. — *Military Training.* — The Government's efforts to strengthen military training were vigorously opposed by the representatives of the chief centre party, in the debate on the Budget in the Diet. The "liberal" press, however, supports the Government's attitude. The Polish newspaper *Polska Zbrojna* has recently lamented in a leading article the disregard of their military obligations which is prevalent among the more intelligent young men, comparing this attitude to that of former patriots, who considered military service an honor. A military periodical states that there are frequent cases of young men endeavoring to avoid the heavier obligations of service as officers. From the "War Resisters' Bulletin" comes the information that there are now some 40 people in prison for definite refusal to take up arms. These are, however, chiefly Russian citizens of Poland, who belong to various religious sects. In spite of a certain restricted provision for exemption, the authorities are inclined to regard this as "inapplicable," and objectors are sentenced to from 6-24 months' imprisonment. A soldier who witnessed the ill-treatment of Kasimir Massel, a member of the Malevantsy sect, who was called up in October, said, "The priest tells us we must follow Jesus Christ, but when Kasimir Massel is following Christ, he is beaten for it." Another member of the same sect, Peter Winel, has already given notice of his refusal to bear arms, as he expects to be called up in March.

* * *

International Conferences, Summer Schools, Etc.

International Teachers' Peace Conference, Prague, April 18-19; under the auspices of the International Bureau of Education in Geneva. Most of the lectures will be in Esperanto. Address: B. I. E., 4 rue Charles Bonnet, Geneva.

Women's International League, Summer School, at the Fellowship School, Gland, Switzerland, August 25-September 8. Subject: "Inter-Racial Problems." Among the collaborators will be Romain Rolland. Inquiries to: Mdlle. Yvonne Garreau, 2 rue Gaston de St. Paul, Paris XVIe.

International War Resisters' Congress, 21st and 22nd May. Amsterdam, Holland. Sec., Jonkman, Nassaukade 149, Amsterdam.

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